1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.
[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[139] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples. [113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[216] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.
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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.
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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.
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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced
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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
[541] to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
[794] arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

*565 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
871 than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
*565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
[582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
582 cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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## 8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [193] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the *[565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

## The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

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794 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing
747 more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

## Festivals

796 The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based
[184] on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an im-
[793] portant date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and
796 blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date
794 when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua
782 locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the
776 cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult
[822] priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usu-
[787] ally sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.

[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that 796
the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the In-
dian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to [794]
Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually
marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, [776]
mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On [262]
Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make
a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade
it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the
fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned.
While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which [538]
he has composed during the year and which tells about his
friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the [793]
mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest offici-
ates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This [794]
ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly
women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is [565]
a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed
in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a rev-
eille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of
shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is [369]
celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch,
who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a
Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest [794]
conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. [184]
Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are
celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party
called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the
days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cos-
me and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so
following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary [794]
for small images of the two saints to be carried about the
streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in
their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance
and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first
look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also
dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a
carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan con-
vent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on
the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

## Prayers

• 794 782 *[565] [184] Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

[776] [794]

755 782 [754] Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Hail Mary. Some women say this process must be repeated three times in a row, others that it must be done each Friday for three weeks. This is a protective prayer "to take away the evil eye" (para tirar mau olhado). The thread which is used is taken away and carefully disposed of, by the person who prayed.

## Conflict and Differential Participation

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The attitude of the priests toward conditions in their parishes is one of resignation. They realize that it is physically impossible for them to take religion to all the people or even to the majority of them. Also, they are disheartened by the poor intellectual basis the people have for understanding the doctrine of the church. They do not discourage the group prayers, nor do they encourage them; they simply let them exist. But they vigorously combat African cultism. For several years the fishermen's chapel was closed because of the cult activities of so many of the women who attended the chapel. Recently, however, the Franciscan superior reopened the chapel, feeling that it was better not to exclude the entire fisherman population from the church because a few of them also participated in African cults. For it had turned out that when the chapel was closed all the people in the lower part of town refused to go up the hill to the convent and therefore passed several years without attending Mass, confessing, or taking Communion. In sermons given during Mass an opportunity to condemn cultism is never lost, even though it may have little effect. The local church policy toward cultism depends upon the feelings of each new superior and whether he will tolerate it. The priest who reopened the chapel became a much-loved person in the town, at least by the lower classes, for he realized how few people in the total population indulge in cult activities compared to the many who go to watch. The caretaker of one of the rural chapels is also a cult leader on his plantation, but relations between him and the priests are cordial. Although most of the female devotees attend the Masses for their particular saints, the priestess of the cult house never goes to church and avoids meeting the priests if possible.

Religion is more a part of the women's lives than of the men's, and there are more women than men at every Mass. There are a few strongly religious women (beatas) in the town 794

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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794 who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following
125 data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church
794 attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years
*565 of age:
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TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

| Urban Number of times per year Males | Urban Number of times per year Females | Class | Rural Number of times per year Males | Rural Number of times per year Females |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | A | 19 | 23 |
| 40 | 96 | B | 4 | 3 |
| 17 | 25 | C | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 41 | D | | |

369 Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a
794 man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at
*565 least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of atten-
[554] dance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

## African Cults

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177 Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism
776 between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

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some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To
[782] put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

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The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

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The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

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794 192 [787] santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 787 776 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer. [511]

794 533 [465] [776] The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives participate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening. 794 533

The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint. 794 857 [787] [869] 794 [265]

The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By 794 796 787 [533]

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796 then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has
[787] been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes
on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The
[369] rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of
the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes
three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drum-
ming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations."
Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone
rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

794 The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must
796 fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if
possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must
776 be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a
[787] year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the
person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony
is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several
other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have
a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable
to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it
at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply
with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house
always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end
of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more
than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All
participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints
in the cult house and look after them personally if possible,
but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador
does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a
miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the prop-
[782] er foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even
have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite
sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from
parents to children. Many of the younger participants have
come into the cults on their own and may be children of fam-
ilies which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a moth-
er belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the
rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremo-
nies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no
pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though
they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies.
The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with
the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the
435 year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[458] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things
[511] which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

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## Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[178] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators,
[463] cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

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to be desired. The policy of the United States, on the other hand, from the Brazilian point of view, particularly in so far as it counts every man a Negro who, to use the census definition, "is known to be a Negro in the community in which he lives," tends to perpetuate "a menacing element" —menacing not to the racial purity of the dominant race but to the political and cultural solidarity of the nation.

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As a matter of fact the attitude of the Brazilian people to the race problem so far as concerns the Negro seems, on the whole, to be academic rather than pragmatic and actual. There is a certain ethnological and archeological interest in the survivals of the African fetish cults, the so-called *candomblés*, of which there seem to be an extraordinary number, especially in and about the cities of Bahia and Pernambuco. This archeological interest in the African is evidenced by two successive *Congressos Afro-brasileiros* which met in Recife and in Bahia in 1934 and 1937.

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Since most of these *candomblés* are living and functioning forms of African religious practices, although obviously in process of assimilation to the ritual and mythology of local Catholicism, perhaps they should not be classed as survivals.

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In any case it is a somewhat bizarre experience to a stranger in Bahia, walking along one of the ridges where *os ricos*, that is, the rich folk, live, to hear from the palm groves in the neighboring valleys where *os pobres*, the poor folk, live, the insistent boom of African drums. So narrow are the spatial distances that divide Europe on the ridges from Africa in the valleys that it is difficult to realize how wide the social distances are that separate them.

It is even more difficult for those of us whose conception of the Negro problem and of race relations generally has been

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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

591 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [207] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* [177] ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
• [794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

| Year | Total | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1896 | 110 | 55 | 55 |
| 1897 | 238 | 136 | 102 |
| 1898 | 200 | 96 | 104 |
| 1899 | 209 | 110 | 99 |
| 1900 | 151 | 87 | 64 |
| 1901 | 152 | 74 | 78 |
| 1902 | 202 | 136 | 66 |
| Total | 1,282 | 724 | 568 |

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáquexáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255. [82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mametos*—those who have just been circumcized with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bendito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird.

[102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôte!' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329-30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionais do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253-54.

[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823-31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141-42 [translators' note]).

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In the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, one notes the side-by-side, unsegregated worship of all ranges of the color scale. For instance, out of 927 worshipers present one Sunday morning[14] at the Matriz Nossa Senhora de Sant' Anna, 277 were blacks, 327 were mulattoes, 312 were whites, 9 were *cafusos*, and 2 were *mamelucos*. At the ancient and historic Igreja do Carmo on another occasion,[15] of 227 persons attending Mass, 34 were blacks, 109 were mulattoes, and 84 were whites. At the famed São Francisco Church one Sunday morning,[16] of 470 worshipers, 124 were blacks, 187 were mulattoes, and 159 were whites. At Santo Antonio da Barra on another Sunday,[17] of a total of 177 persons present, 74 were blacks, 52 were mulattoes, and 48 were whites. One of the best-dressed audiences in the city, at the Convento de Piedade, numbered,[18] among a total of 285, 52 blacks and 64 mulattoes.

Of a total of 7,396 worshipers in thirty-eight Catholic churches, cathedrals, and chapels scattered throughout the city, including (in addition to the foregoing) the Matriz da Vitoria, the Mosteiro de São Bento, the Cathedral, the Matrix de Nazaré, the Basilica do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, Campo Santo, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Palma, Ajuda, Pillar, Conceição do Boqueirão, and the Matriz do Rio Vermelho, 25 per cent were blacks, 33.3 per cent were mulattoes, and 40.8 per cent whites,[19] the various ethnic groups being in each case indiscriminately represented throughout the audience. A similar distribution was

[14] July 26, 1936, 9:00–10:30 A.M.

[15] August 2, 1936, 8:30 A.M.

[16] January 5, 1936.

[17] August 16, 1936, 8:15 A.M.

[18] January 12, 1936, 9:00 A.M.

[19] Absolute numbers: black, 1,846; mulatto, 2,462; white, 3,019; *cafuso* 32; *mameluco*, 19.

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noted in two Protestant churches, one Baptist, the other Presbyterian. Of a total of 157 worshipers, 27.4 per cent were blacks, 29.9 per cent were mulattoes, and 42.7 per cent were whites, seated indiscriminately, in each case.

Although 104 of 130 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to receiving the sacrament from a black priest, priests and pastors are usually white, only occasionally mulatto (ordinarily light), and very rarely black. For instance, of 43 priests officiating at Mass, 42, or 98 per cent, were white, and 1 was a mulatto, quite light. Of 60 novices at the Seminary of Santa Thereza, only 7 were mulattoes, 1 very dark.[20] Of the 2 Protestant pastors, 1 was white, the other a dark mulatto. In the latter's audience were over a score of whites. 563* 793

Altar boys are often mulattoes, occasionally blacks. For instance, of 70 altar boys seen assisting with Mass, 35, or 50 per cent, were whites; 3 were *brancos da Bahia;* 20, or 28.6 per cent, were mulattoes; and 11, or 15.7 per cent, were blacks. 563* 794

A similarly mixed participation may be noted in meetings of the spiritualist cult. At a session of the União Espirita Bahiana, for instance, of 73 persons present, 20 were blacks, 26 were mulattoes, and 27 were whites.[21] Among the leaders gathered about a table in front of the audience, 2 were whites, 2 were *brancos da Bahia,* 1 was a mulatto, and 2 were blacks.

In noting the circumstances under which the Brazilian racial accommodation has taken and is taking place, one ought not to overlook the fact that Catholic ideas and practice, permeating as they do very largely the whole moral order at 563* 795

[20] One *mameluco,* 52 whites. [21] Also 1 *cafuso.*

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo*;[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba*;[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339-41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Historias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, . . . . to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Banguê*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *banguê*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

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191 Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan- [794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However, [796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual [576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdi-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô. 192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

201 565 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogun* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

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An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavagem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

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Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[31] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[31] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obi* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[33] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

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[33] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[35] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[36] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

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In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[35] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[36] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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787 neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical in-
[789] termediaries as the *obí* and the *orobô*, or the *opêlê-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

787 Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[825] [38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed char-
[777] coal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hum-
[821] mingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adivem-quevem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion
[262] of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamédê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeçe*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[45] is the *casa de Gêge*.[46] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[45] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[46] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[40] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the bless-
[776] ing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can-
[793] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

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My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

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My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[41] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[42] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

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[40] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[41] A Bahian cemetery.

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[42] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[53] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[53] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[54]

[53] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[53] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[54] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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# CHAPTER X

## THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brazil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

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In details of language, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans. The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence. [177]

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93–94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning. [178] [795]

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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of a *seita* in the city of Cachoeira across the bay, the most purely Gêge in the region. Of the Congo-Angola centers, the one reputed to be most influenced by Congo tradition is Bata Folha; that most influenced by Angola tradition, the *seita* of Maria Nenen. Of the *caboclo* centers, the more noted are perhaps those of the wealthy and widely feared *pae de santo* Jubiabá in Cruz do Cosme, of *mãe de santo* Sabina in Quintas da Barra, and of "Pae Joazinha," or João da Pedra Preta (John-of-the Black-Rock), in Gomea.

Out of the Afro-Brazilian Congress which met at Bahia in January, 1937, came a memorial addressed to the governor of the state asking for official recognition of the *candomblé* as a religious sect with rights and privileges equal, under the Brazilian constitution, to those of all other forms of religious expression. In order to act more effectively in demanding and securing these rights and in combating the sorcery and quackery which are perhaps the principal obstacles in the way of their attainment, an attempt was made, sponsored by the young mulatto journalist, Edison Carneiro, to organize all Bahian *seitas* into one body. The result was an organization known as the União das Seitas Afro-brasileiras da Bahia with a governing body, consisting of one representative from each *seita*, charged with the special responsibility of eliminating unorthodox practices.[4]

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The *seitas* are located in sections of the city where the residents are almost exclusively blacks and dark mulattoes or in the outlying regions where dwellings are few. They number perhaps between a hundred and a hundred and fifty. Some say there are two to three hundred, but this estimate

[4] At the first session animosity between the more orthodox centers and the *caboclo seitas* was so great that any substantial agreement appeared to be quite difficult.

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabecceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once." 776 [178]

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired. 794 776 787

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15. 794 776

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the 794 793

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PRINCIPAL *Orixás* OF THE GÊGE-NAGÔ FETISH CULTS AT BAHIA

| Name | Sex | Personification | Fetish | Insignia | Sacred Foods | Dress | Beads | Bracelet | Sacred Day | Call |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oxalá (Orixá-lá, Obatalé)* | M,F | (?) | Lead ring, cowries | Shepherd's staff with small bells | She-goat, pigeon | White | White | White beads, lead | Friday | Tremulous groan |
| Xangô | M | Lightning | Meteorite | Lance, hatchet | Cock, turtle, he-goat, *carurú* | Principal color: red | Red and white | Brass | Wednesday | *hey-ee-ee* |
| Ogun (Ogum) | M | War, iron | Iron: hoe, anvil, scythe, spade, shovel, sledge | Lance, sword | He-goat, cock, oxhead, guinea hen | All colors | All colors | Bronze | Tuesday | *guara-min-fô* |
| Oxóssi (Oso-osi, Ochossi) | M | The hunt | Bow and arrow, clay skillet, stone | Bow and arrow, hunting bag, powder horn, oxtail | Sheep, cock, maize | Green, yellow; trimmed with *palha da costa* | Green | Bronze | Thursday | Bark like that of a dog |
| Omolú (Humoulú, Omanlú, Xapanan) | M | Pestilence, especially smallpox | *Piassava* with *busios* | Lance | He-goat, cock, *acassá*, popcorn, *orôbô*, maize with *azeite de dendê* | Red, black | Red and black, red and white | Cowries | Monday | *hê* |
| Exú | M | Evil (?), mischievousness | Clay, iron, wood | ? | "Eats everything that is edible" | Red, black | Red, black | Bronze | Monday† | ? |
| Yemanjá (Iemanjá)‡ | F | Salt water | Seashell | Fan, sword | Pigeon, maize, cock, castrated he-goat | Red, dark blue, rose | *pingos da agua* (transparent) | Aluminum | Saturday | *kin-kee-yo-min* |

* Also known in Gêge as Oulissa; in Angola as Cassumbeca; in Tapa as Inacoude Jegum. (The *x* in Oxalá, etc., is pronounced like *sh* in English.)

† Also the first day of any extended ceremony.

‡ In the *candombite de caboclo*, Yemanjá is called Rainha do Mar, Dona Janaina (or simply Janaina), Dona Maria, Sereia do Mar, Princeza do Mar.

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TABLE 15—*Continued*

| Name | Sex | Personification | Fetish | Insignia | Sacred Foods | Dress | Beads | Bracelet | Sacred Day | Call |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yansan (Iansan) | F | Wind, storm | Meteorite | Sword | Goat, hen, *amalá*, § *acarajé* | Principal color: red ("avoids" violet) | Red, coral | Copper, brass | Wednesday | *hay-ee-ee* ("softer" than Xangô) |
| Oxun (Oxum, Ossa) | F | Fresh water | Stone worn smooth by a river | *Abébé* (fan), looking-glass, small bell | Fish (*tainha*), she-goat, hen, beans | ? | Yellow, blue | Brass | Saturday | *hum-hum* |
| Anamburucú (Nanan, Nanamburucú)‖ | F | Rain | Stone | Sword, small straw broom with cowries | Goat, hen, *obí* | White, dark blue | White, red and blue | Aluminum | Wednesday | *hu-hu-hu-hu* |
| Oxun-manré (Ochu-maré) | F | Rainbow | Stone | ? | Cock, he-goat | ? | Orange | ? | ? | ? |
| Lôkô (Rôkô, Irôkô) | ? | ? | *gamelleira* tree | ? | Cock, tobacco, beer, white wine | All colors ¶ | All colors | ? | Tuesday | Low whistle |
| Ilá | ? | Future events | Fruit of the *dendê* palm | ? | ? | ? | Green-yellow | ? | ? | ? |
| Beji (Ibeji) | M | Twin births | Images of São Cosme and São Damião | ? | *carurú*, *acassá*, *abará*, *acarajé*, *farofa* with *azeite de dendê* | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |

§ *Amalá* is *carurú* served with rice or with gruel made from the manioc root.

‖ Also known in Gêge as Tobossi. She is "the oldest" of the *mães d'agua* (Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan, Anamburucú, Oxun-manré).

¶ Also a straw mat or a strip of white cloth, called *ouja*, which is wrapped about the trunk of a *gamelleira* tree.

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794 793 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 793 627 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily submitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persuasion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water [688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 793 754 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

794 793 554 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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some reason male members of the seita rarely experience, as do the women members, the "manifestation" of an *orixá*. Consequently, very few males ever pass through the rigorous period of training which must always follow the initial "appearance" of a deity in a given individual. Moreover, the men, being more mobile than the women, are ordinarily brought into more extensive contact with the Europeans and their descendants and consequently tend to take over more readily the ideas and sentiments of the whites. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily remain more closely identified with the customs and traditions of their African ancestors. It is probably for this reason that several of the more prominent and influential *candomblés* in Bahia now have women leaders. For the head of a *seita*, upon his approaching death, ordinarily chooses the new priest (or priestess) from among those members of the cult who are most learned in the ritual and other tradition. When asked about the occasion for So-and-so's selection, cult members always say, "Ele [*or* ela] é muito sabido" ("He is very learned in the ritual").

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Other sacred functionaries include the *ogans*, or male members of the *seita*, who assist the *pae* or *mãe de santo* with the ritual, particularly in invoking the presence of the *orixás* during ceremonial dances, help initiate new *ogans*, act as intermediaries between the *seita* and the legal authorities, and contribute toward the expenses of the cult; the *achôgun*, or "second *pae*" as he is often called, who performs the sacrifices; the *jibonam*, or *pequena mãe* ("little mother"), next in authority to the *mãe de santo*, who assists the ceremonial dancers in carrying out their *preceitos*, or ritualistic obligations, and who makes the *despacho*, or food offering, to Exú at the opening of each important ceremony; the musicians, who assist at certain secret rituals and all public cere-

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794 monies, together with their leader, the *alabê;* and the very important *filhas de santo* (literally "daughters of the *orixás*"), or ceremonial dancers, who serve as the so-called *cavalos* ("horses") for the deities who "manifest themselves" in their bodies and speak through them their will.

794 This "visitation" is known as the *estado de santo* ("state of
787 the *orixá*") and is ordinarily induced by prolonged fasting, the pungent odors of certain sacred herbs, the monotonous and long-continued beating of the *atabaques*, the heat from a large number of human bodies densely packed together on a warm night, the fatigue attendant on long-sustained dancing, the imperative expectations of the group, and, often as a precipitating incident, when tensions have been built up to the point where they can no longer be sustained, a sudden, loud, and unexpected noise. Seizure is said to be avoidable, as we have noted, by drinking cold water.

794 On the first "visitation" of an *orixá* in the body of an individual she must submit to either of two initiatory rites. She may elect the complete initiation of *fazer santo* ("to make the *orixá*"), or the partial initiation of *dar comida a cabeça*" ("to give food to the head"). If she elects the former, as most do, she makes an initial food offering to Exú, following which a fetish is secured and "prepared" by being washed by the *pae de santo* and immersed in *azeite de dendê*, honey, or *acaça*, depending on the *orixá*, the entire ritual being accompanied by special invocations. The initiate, or *yaô*, as she is now called, then surrenders all her garments, which, in symbol of the new life upon which she is about to enter, will never be worn again, and submits to a ritualistic bath, at dusk, in water scented with sacred herbs of a pun-
[782] gent odor. The *yaô* is then received in the *pegi* by the dignitaries of the cult and seated in a chair never before used,

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubá* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 796 [562] As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accordance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. [273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 576 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 796 787 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure

[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro. [114]

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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

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The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

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In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

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Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

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The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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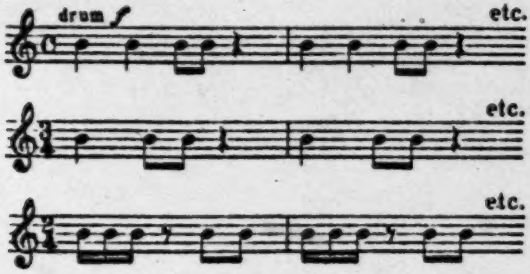
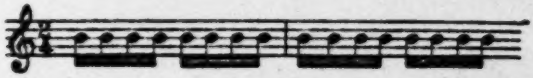
The *atabaques*, or drums, are indispensable to every ceremony. The heavy sound of the larger drum is intersected by the higher tones of the medium-sized and the small one. The rhythm is characterized by one-tone, interrupted syncopation and varies with each *orixá* invoked. Among the more frequent cadences noted by Arthur Ramos[10] are the following:




For the occasions on which an invoked *orixá* "delays" in manifesting himself, even after the tempo of his invocation is greatly increased, there is a special rhythm—vibrant, rapid, continuous, unsyncopated—known as *adarrum*, which the followers of the cult say no *orixá* can possibly "resist." It is the following monotonous rhythm:



Although the instrumental music of the *candomblé* is quite monotonous, as is also the hand-clapping which often accompanies it, the vocal accompaniment is polyphonic. The

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[10] "Os instrumentos musicaes dos candomblés da Bahia," *Bahia Medica*, III (July, 1932), 194.

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

Egbéji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbéji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

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794 forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in
764 great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back
787 muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

794 To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes
793 a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of
368 tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

794 The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-
793 appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately
159 obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[13] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells [444]

[13] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937. [539]

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793 159 [444] them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She says:

> The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a mineral? No human hands have made it.
>
> 794 793 159 771 We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats, oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.
>
> There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

794 One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahia is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

794 576 A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano, one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his 794 fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

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things African" that he is occasionally called to Pernambuco, four hundred miles up the Brazilian coast, to carry out special rituals which cult members in that city are unable to perform. Of the *candomblé*, he says, "The Nagô worships nature because he is realistic and wants to see what he worships. He can't see the Catholics' God." 794

The *barracão* here is about fifty feet by thirty, with roof and one end thatched with palm fronds, and floor freshly sanded. By nightfall it is gaily decorated with paper streamers, most of which are white; some, however, are red, blue, green, or yellow. A large and neat placard, which one of the *ogans* proudly says was painted by his daughter, a first-year student at the Escola Normal, bears the inscription: "Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá," a combination of Portuguese and Nagô which means "Sacred Cross Center of the Brothers and Sisters of the Temple of Xangô." Chairs to accommodate the priestess, the elderly Negro woman, and the old Negro man have been placed on a dais to the left of the musicians. The spectators are carefully excluded from the dancing space in front of the drums by railings patrolled by *ogans*. On the end wall hang three white pennants bearing respectively, the inscriptions, "Viva Oxalá," "Viva Oxun," and "Viva Aryra," and one red pennant with the words, "Viva Xangô." 794 346 352 353

The *filhas*, all of whom are escorted into the *barracão* under a white sheet held by *ogans* who also light the procession with flaming torches, number seventeen, all of whom are blacks, with the exception of two dark mulattoes. Of the *ogans*, fourteen are blacks, eleven are mulattoes, six of whom are dark mixed-bloods, and one is a Portuguese immigrant who came to Brazil some thirty years ago and now owns a small retail establishment in the Lower City. 794 [416]

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794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 346 353 177 776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 346 [352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 793 159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, 793
Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six dif- 159
ferent African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, [191]
Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial [292]
costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (ap- [435]
proximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing
good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which [608]
has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to
approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to
be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving
the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo,
particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*,
and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro,
Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has
"made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly 794
face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or
the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a
*mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the
drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather
pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An
*ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about
African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a
cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully
help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on.
Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open,
her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio [754]
(now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make
a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, be-
came angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (liter-
ally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

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794 heartily in the songs, occasionally taps her cane on the ground in time with the drums, and appears to enjoy thoroughly each part of the ritual. Every once in a while she leans toward the drummers and shouts at the *alabê* in Nagô. Sometimes, when the *pae de santo* is temporarily absent from the *barracão*, she initiates the ritualistic songs. Her name is Ismeira and she lives in an old house in a section of the city which was once entirely inhabited, it is said, by Nagôs.

794 796 As the ceremony begins, 22 *filhas*, 1 *filho* (or male ceremonial dancer), and the *pae de santo* are in the circle which has formed around the central post of the *barracão*. Seated in the center of the circle is a visiting *pae de santo* named Vidal. Twenty-one *ogans*, including visitors from other *seitas*, are to the left of the drums. Into the other available spaces are packed 208 spectators, of whom 136 are blacks, 68 are mulattoes (all dark mixed-bloods, except 6), and 4 are *brancos da Bahia*. There are no whites. Approximately two hundred other individuals mill about outside.

794 463 In this *seita* there are in all 34 *filhas de santo*, nearly 60 per cent of whom are over forty years of age. The eldest are seventy-two and seventy-one years, respectively, and 9 are fifty or over. Ten are from forty to fifty, 7 are from thirty to forty years of age; 6 are twenty to thirty, 1 is nineteen, and 1 is twelve. Two are married, 13 are *amasiada*, 2 are engaged to be married, 15 are single, and 2 are widowed. All are from the lower class. Thirteen are peddlers of African foods in the streets, 7 are seamstresses, 5 are laundresses, 5 are domestic servants, and 1 is a midwife. One, the next to the eldest, is employed in looking after the *casa de candomblé*, 1 is the 794 *zelador de santo*,[14] and 1 an adolescent child. Thirteen, or

[14] It is the task of the *zelador de santo* to care for the *pegi*, wash the fetishes at regular intervals, and renew the food and drink offerings.

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more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[15] [565] [463]

[15] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

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• 794 796 787 786 The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

794 346 353 [373] The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

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Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano*
[291] *da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menininha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mí-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

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Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

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drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands, and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

[535]

All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecá*.

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The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

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The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

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help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security.

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

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The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members

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there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

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In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

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[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

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Omolú, the *orixá* of pestilence, with São Roque, or, in some cases, with São Bento; and Exú, with Satan. Of the *mães d'agua* (water deities), Yemanjá is confused in some cases with Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Compassion), and in others with Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary); Oxun, in some cases, with Nossa Senhora das Candeias and, in others, with Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception); Yansan, with Santa Barbara; and Nanan (Anamburucú, Nanamburucú), with Nossa Senhora de Sant'Ana. Beji, the twins, are identified with Cosme and Damião; Irôko (Rôko, Lôko), who is presumed to dwell in the *gameleira* tree, with Poverello (São Francisco) de Assis;[18] and Ifá, the *orixá* of divination, with Santissimo Sacramento (the Most Holy Sacrament). Even Xangô, the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, to whom Edison Carneiro refers as "indisputably the most African of all the *orixás* worshiped at Bahia,"[19] and who is still thought of by some blacks as being distinct from any Catholic saint, is worshiped in several of the most representative Gêge-Nagô *seitas* under the name of São Jeronimo and, occasionally, of Santa Barbara.

The conditions which favor fusion in this last-named case are not difficult to understand. In Portuguese folklore Santa Barbara is thought of as a protector against lightning, a conception which probably led very easily to the identification of Santa Barbara in the Negroes' minds with Xangô, who is, in the African tradition, "the *orixá* of the thunderbolts." Fusion in this case, as in others, would have been aided by the common conception that each African deity is both a protector and a destroyer; a kindly protector when offered

[18] Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936), p. 155.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 153–54.

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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

### XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
• 794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress .... The Revived *Candomblés* .... *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City ....

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by .... God. ....

Your reporter .... has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which .... continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. ....

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll, stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

798 794 829 However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

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João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

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> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[*]

The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[*] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,* and the aged Maria Bádá,

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* Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado do Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

[1] This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangô do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
• 794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

/15 cont./

829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
[113]

125 The author of these pages has classified, according to their
829 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
*563 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

| Designation | Number of individuals of each type (1) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D |
| Whites . . . . . | 19 | 14 | 21 | 6 |
| Brancos da terra . . . | 1 | 11 | 2 | - |
| Morenos . . . . . | 4 | - | 6 | 19 |
| Mulattoes . . . . . | 6 | 5 | 1 | 5 |

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[525 brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794 versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873 it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
[125
[565]

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/19 cont./

[798 social cohesion of the community (1).
[621]

[162 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the
[795 municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871 [777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

• 794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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/71 cont./

*563 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the
873 father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately pub-
178 lished with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual; "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary
873 establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563
•794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the com-
[796] munion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations.
[788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around
[565] them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

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/72 cont./

*563 •794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

*563 554 794 [196] [292] [175] [178] [565]

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*563 554 794 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves, sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods and to take part in their management committees. It is always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only "gentlemen," white and of certain professions, would be permitted to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment, office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one has been 'rehabilitated.'" But more than a century ago the con-
[178] cept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 669.

*563 794 Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

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/74 cont./

*563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons *563 794 463 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a *563 794 793 797 foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

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*563 give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance,
•794 and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of
793 a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied
797 important positions in the administration of the State and who even
[554] reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar
*563 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with
794 regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year
554 to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos
793 Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period
[195] of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should
[567] not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At
[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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11. A "mae de santo."

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/98 cont./

*563 668 circumstances, almost all black, founded the Black Front of Bahia. Until that time the only organizations of "colored
*563 668 people" existing in the city were the brotherhoods and some workmen's and charity associations, none of which had as a
747 definite aim the defense of colored men against racial prejudice.
• 794 The Protective Society for Invalids, founded in 1832 as a religious and charitable brotherhood for persons "exclusively of black color," stated in a publication commemorating the centenary of its founding that "to speak of the ideal of the founder of this great work of philanthropy, it is to eliminate skin prejudice from Brazilian soil." This organization, however, does not include in its statutes, revised in 1948, or mention in its annual reports activities other than those of charity or mutual aid -- something that the informants, including members of the management, confirm.

*563 668 A local enterprise considered "an innovation for Bahia the news that colored men, against whom no distinction is made, are going to form a group." A professor of the university, in an ironic article on the Black Front, tried to advance the hypothesis that this movement was the result of Communist influence which profited from all occasional political agitation. One of the first activities of the Black Front, an activity which was disagreeable to dark persons of higher rank, says a mulatto informant, was a parade of poor Blacks along one of the commercial streets of the city, intended to show the misery in which they lived and to draw attention to the new organization. According to the same informant, the movement was "doomed to failure from its inception," for it was organized "as a kind of revolt." The founder and leader of this group, a worker who lived in São Paulo and took part in identical activities, harassed by financial difficulties and also yielding to what he himself, in an interview given to a newspaper called his destiny of "wandering Jew," /99/ returned the following year to the southern part of the country, disappointed by the results of his enterprise, which found no support and soon died out.

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/100 cont./

*563 668 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 575 794 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 668 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

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/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
655 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group,
*563 however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
565 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
555 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
162 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
794 the upper classes:
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| | Whites | | "Pardos" | | Blacks | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | Indices | % | Indices | % | Indices |
| In the total population . . . . | 33 | 100 | 47 | 100 | 20 | 100 |
| Religious brotherhoods . . . . | 82 | 240 | 18 | 38 | -- | -- |
| Liberal professions (1) . . . . | 76 | 230 | 22 | 46 | 2 | 10 |
| Clubs . . . . . | 67 | 200 | 33 | 70 | -- | -- |

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of ad-
vancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

5: Azevedo--144 D,Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

| Professions | Whites | | "Morenos" | | "Mulattoes" | | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | |
| Commerce, agriculture, industry . . . | 419 | 84.98 | 59 | 11.98 | 15 | 3.04 | 493 |
| Officials . . . . . | 57 | 81.42 | 12 | 17.14 | 1 | 1.42 | 70 |
| Military men . . . . . | 6 | 85.71 | 1 | 14.29 | | | 7 |
| Artists, professors. . . . . | 3 | 60 | 2 | 40 | | | 5 |
| Technicians . . . . . | 14 | 93.33 | | | 1 | 6.67 | 15 |
| Liberal professions . . . . . | 192 | 79.01 | 48 | 19.75 | 3 | 1.23 | 243 |
| Students . . . . . | 64 | 82.05 | 10 | 12.82 | 4 | 5.12 | 78 |
| Priests, including six bishops . . . . . | 14 | 48.27 | 15 | 51.73 | | | 29 |
| Professions not indicated . . . . . | 49 | 75.56 | 10 | 15.62 | 5 | 7.81 | 64 |
| | 818 | 81.47 | 157 | 15.64 | 29 | 2.88 | 1,004 |